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Elite or middling? International students and migrant diversification

Abstract

Student migrants from former sending regions now form a substantial share of non-EU migration flows to Europe. These flows represent the convergence of extensive internationalisation of higher education with increasing restrictions on family and labour migration. This paper provides the first examination of student migrants' early socio-cultural and structural integration by following recently arrived Pakistani students in London over an 18 month period. We use latent class analysis to identify both elite and two 'middling' types – middle class and network-driven – within our student sample. We then ask whether these types experience different early socio-cultural and structural integration trajectories in the ways that the elite and middling transnational literatures would suggest. We find differences in structural, but less in socio-cultural outcomes. We conclude that to understand the implications of expanding third country student migration across the EU, it is important to recognize both the distinctiveness of this flow and its heterogeneity. [150 words]

INTRODUCTION

The face of third country migration to Europe is changing. With traditional family and labour pathways to Europe increasingly restricted, and higher education becoming increasingly international, student migrants now form a substantial share of non-EU flows to Europe. Between 2001 and 2011 the number of foreign students globally has more than doubled; and education is the stated reason for migration of at least one in eight recent arrivals in Germany, France, the Netherlands, Austria, and the UK. By contrast, with more purposeful selection of labour migrants reducing them to a high-skilled core, economic migrants now comprise less than half of recent arrivals throughout the European Union (Eurostat, 2011). The flow of family migrants is also reducing in many receiving countries, in response to more stringent eligibility requirements for family and fiancé(e) sponsorship.

Yet despite these major shifts, student migrants are generally omitted from migration research. This is in part because typical scholarship focuses on stocks of foreign born, a population which is still dominated by older arrivals. When students are considered within the EU, it is generally in the context of free movement and large scale programmes such as Erasmus (Otero, 2008; King and Ruiz-Gelices, 2003); third country students are generally assumed to return home and thus garner less research attention. This is a serious omission, because, despite the explicitly temporary nature of most third country student visas, we know that students *do* transfer to other categories, and students have become increasingly likely to settle since the 1990s (Findlay, 2011). Hence, current forecasts of the long term integration outcomes of existing minority populations must now consider the growing proportion of student migrants within them.

It is the goal of this paper to highlight the salience of student migration for migration studies and to further develop the theoretical framing and empirical description of these new flows. It does that by focusing on the characteristics and early integration trajectories of

Pakistani students in London. Relying on a rich new two-wave panel of recent immigrants, we can for the first time examine the early socio-cultural and structural integration process of students by following a single national origin group of students across time. Pakistanis form the second largest non-European minority within the UK, and Pakistani students are the student group most likely to go on to settle permanently (Home Office, 2014). We focus on London because the UK is at the forefront both of increases in international student enrolment and in the dominance of student visa applications relative to labour and family re-unification: over one in eight tertiary enrolments in the UK are currently to a foreign national, and the numbers of student visas began to exceed those issued for any other category in 2008. Moreover, London is a world city (Friedmann, 1986) with a high density of tertiary education institutions and a large population of cosmopolitan expats from across the world (Hannerz, 1990), providing an ideal site for advancing the study of student migration.

Student flows have typically been conceived of as unproblematic from a host country perspective, either because of their small numbers and assumed temporary sojourner status or because they are regarded as forming a high skilled elite, which benefits the destination country. We argue, however, that these assumptions are not necessarily well-founded. With the expansion of international higher education, and in an era of 'managed migration', the student visa remains the only viable option for many potential third country migrants. Student migrants are therefore likely to be more diverse than traditional representations of an elite migration stream that maximizes its human capital in a prestigious Western institution and returns, like Jinnah or Nehru, to form the ruling class in the country of origin. We contrast theoretical expectations of students as 'cosmopolitan elites' (Waters and Brooks, 2011) with the emerging concept of 'middling transnationals' (Ho, 2011; Conradson and Latham, 2005b), positing that current student migrants are now likely to show greater variation in terms of origins, skills, social position and settlement aims. Moreover, students are also no

longer unconditionally ‘welcome’ in the way that elite migrations have typically been characterized, as heated debates on immigration increasingly target all foreign born while immigration laws restrict students’ future opportunities for residence and work. Caught in the education-migration nexus (Robertson and Runganaikaloo, 2014), we expect the Pakistani students we observe to exhibit a more ambivalent social position and evaluation of their circumstances than is typically associated with unconstrained elites.

In order empirically to assess these claims, we apply latent class analysis (LCA) to the first wave of our panel of new migrants to establish the extent to which migration for education combines the characteristics of a highly skilled migration with components of an ambiguous ‘middling’ migration. We then utilize the short panel design to ask whether the different student types identified by the LCA are consequential for early socio-cultural and structural integration in the ways that the ‘elite’ and ‘middling’ transnational literatures would lead us to expect. We are able to show, first, that our sample of students can be characterized as having a small elite component, mapping on the expectations derived from the literature on elites (Hannerz, 1990). We also identify two more middling and heterogeneous components. One of these (‘networked middling’) accords with expectations of ethnic embeddedness in studies of ‘middling transnationals’ (Rutten and Verstappen 2013). The second (‘middle class middling’) shares the middle class status of the ‘networked middling’ group, but is distinguished by its intermediate position, its lower embeddedness in social networks, and its more uncertain future intentions. In relation to early integration trajectories, we demonstrate superior language, educational, and occupational outcomes among elite students compared to the middling groups. In terms of socio-cultural outcomes, there are fewer differences and little indication that the elite migrants experience more cosmopolitan trajectories over time. We conclude that it is important to recognise the current expansion in third country student migration which will increasingly become a feature of

migrant flows – and in due course settled populations – across many European countries. To understand its implications for both receiving countries and students themselves, it is necessary to identify both its distinctiveness compared to earlier migration streams from the same sending countries and also its internal heterogeneity.

ELITE OR MIDDLING

Theoretical expectations about the characteristics and early integration patterns of student migrants can be drawn from two distinct literatures. On the one hand, student migration is frequently understood as a subset of highly skilled migration, a global elite whose international movement is largely unconstrained and a 'conduit through which capital is accumulated, networks built, connections made and cosmopolitanism reproduced' (Beaverstock, 2012: 240). On the other hand, the tremendous increase in international movement for study mirrors the rapid expansion and massification of higher education more generally (Scott, 1995). This much larger group of international students is therefore likely to be more diverse in background and intentions, analogous to the increasing diversity in student populations undergoing expansion at the national level. Moreover, unlike intra-EU movers, third country migrants remain subject to shifts in migration policy. Informed by intra-EU free movement and national anxieties relating to immigration, migration policy throughout Europe has become more restrictive. Facing more limited opportunities for economic or family migration, migrants with more 'middling' and constrained possibilities may now be pursuing student routes, as noted by several recent ethnographies of students and highly skilled migrants in global cities (Ho, 2011; Rutten and Verstappen, 2013; Robertson and Runganaikaloo, 2014; Mavroudi and Warren, 2013).

Student migration as frictionless and elite

Students are frequently perceived as members of global elites, often as a 'stylized contrast to the disadvantaged, lower class, typically ethnically distinct, putatively "proletariat" migration' (Favell et al., 2007: 16) that garners the majority of migration research attention. The emphasis in this literature is on freedom, with elite workers and students represented as those best poised to appreciate the 'new mobilities' offered by modern technologies for movement and communication and increased globalization (Urry, 2007). Highly skilled elites generally enjoy documented status, many having secured an occupation prior to migration, frequently moving within the same company (Beaverstock, 2005). This enables a more 'frictionless' move, with fewer transition costs, requiring less reliance on ethnic networks and help from kin or countrymen. Their high level of education and relative sense of security enables a cosmopolitan outlook, and they participate in the local culture without feeling threats to their own sense of rootedness or self (Thompson and Tambyah, 1999). The result is that elites and highly skilled migrants are assumed to be more embedded in class than ethnic structures (Beaverstock, 2005; Rizvi 2005), even if working within specific ethnic niches at the higher end of the occupational spectrum (Manacorda et al., 2012).

Theoretical expectations about the characteristics and early integration patterns of student migrants similarly predict an elite migration pattern. Students from the upper stratum of sending societies study abroad to reproduce their class status. They achieve this either through the accumulation of human capital or through the accumulation of cultural and social capital via the signalling power of foreign study (Waters, 2006) and the international social links forged while studying in 'world class' institutions. At the heart of these expectations is ongoing exploitation of opportunities for social reproduction through specific credentials (Collins, 1979) seized by the higher classes in the face of more general expansion of educational, and especially tertiary opportunities. Such credentials can then be translated to provide a competitive edge and heightened prestige: the 'symbolic potency' of Bourdieu and

Passeron (1977). The high value of such *internationally acquired* cultural capital rests on the assumption that these students will return to the home country to be part of the elite there or that they will live lives across borders.

Moreover, this perspective argues that for skilled elites and students, 'state borders are levelled down, as they are dismantled for the world's commodities, capital and finances' (Bauman 1998, p. 89 as cited in Rizvi 2005). In many receiving countries intra-company transfers and students are not counted towards numerical migration caps, although the UK is a notable exception (Home Affairs Committee, 2010), and hence they are expected to be less vulnerable to state control. Following from this characterisation, as recently noted: 'many studies of international student mobility treat the topic in an unproblematic fashion seeing the process as temporary, invisible and not worthy of theorization beyond building simple behavioural models of the choices made by students' (Findlay 2011:165).

While such accounts of elites student migrants are likely to be an accurate representation of some of those migrating for education, they may be partial for a number of reasons. First, they do not take proper account of the expansion of higher education both nationally and internationally, enabling more diverse students to access a more varied (and variable) set of institutions. Second, they do not account for the role of migration policy in shaping student flows. Third, economic models of human capital accumulation or Bourdieusian accounts of class reproduction less readily apply to the experiential aims motivating much international movement.

We would argue that a substantial share of student migration is likely to reflect a more complex and diverse set of characteristics – a type of migration that has begun to be characterized as 'middling'.

Students as 'middling migrants'

Recent literature on skilled migration has questioned its elite and frictionless assumptions (Favell et al., 2007). This perspective argues that technological change and increasing globalization has not only smoothed the existing paths of international movement among global elites, it has also lowered costs sufficiently to enable the international mobility of the middle class, or those with varied objectives (Conradson and Latham, 2005a; Scott, 2006). The literature on the 'middling' transnational or immigrant focuses on the constraint and struggle faced by middle class international movers at the ground level, on the one hand, and points to their varied goals and often non-pecuniary ambitions, on the other. Rather than enjoying frictionless transfers within a multinational firm, middling transnationals are more likely to have to navigate the receiving country legal system and labour market on their own, and to deal with the uncertainty and constraint of temporary contracts, visas, and changing migration laws (Robertson and Runganaikaloo, 2014; Mavroudi and Warren, 2013). Instead of maintaining an elite status established prior to, and enhanced during and after migration, this literature finds considerable evidence of occupational downgrading or unemployment (Rutten and Verstappen, 2013). Occasionally, this uncertainty and downward mobility leads to dissatisfaction and frustration (Robertson and Runganaikaloo, 2014). However, the way these apparently negative outcomes are interpreted by middling migrants themselves is highly contingent on their original migration strategy, with many migrants achieving their experiential aims or language acquisition goals despite their poor economic outcomes (Luthra et al., 2014). The existence of such middling transnationals are now well documented in qualitative studies focusing on global cities such as London (Rutten and Verstappen, 2013; Conradson and Latham, 2005a), Paris (Scott, 2006), and Sydney (Clarke, 2005).

Although the qualitative samples on which this literature principally depends include students, their movement and outcomes are rarely separately theorized. Much of the middling literature focuses on workers and students responding to the open borders of the EU, which

has enabled individuals of more diverse intentions and socio-demographic backgrounds to realize migration aims (Luthra et al., 2014; Otero, 2008). Third country migrants, who face rather different 'push' and 'pull' factors, have been less often discussed. In terms of pull factors, increasing pressure to recruit less selected students from developing countries for degree programmes, especially in English speaking countries, and the increasing internationalization of higher education (Altbach and Knight, 2007), have created greater demand for foreign students in the UK (Findlay, 2011). On the push side, the recent restrictions on work and family visas may create a "substitution effect", channelling would-be migrants to the student visa as the only viable opportunity to perpetuate network driven migration routes from 'traditional' sending countries (De Haas, 2011) Together, these trends can be expected to have altered the composition of third country students, who, while they in no way represent a 'mass' movement, may be much less elite than before (Rutten and Verstappen, 2013; Jones, 2013).

Finally, even within studies of third country migration, the implications of new migration under 'managed migration' for network theories of migration have yet to be explored. Much of the literature assumes that migration is facilitated through the dense connectedness of migrants with their origin countries. In addition, network theories generally imply declining rather than increasing skills across time, commensurate with patterns for family reunification (Massey et al., 1993). Yet increasingly rigid requirements for work and family reunification visas mean that continued migration from many of the major labour exporting nations is likely to be out of reach of the lower skilled and more rural communities that formed the origins of the previous migration streams. Hence even when arriving from traditional sending regions with historic links to the destination country, these new arrivals may be less connected to earlier migrants.

EXPECTATIONS

From this discussion we develop a number of expectations about the key features of student migration. First we do expect to find a continuation of an elite migration, with cosmopolitan features, greater (expected) mobility, very high skilled, embedded more in class-based than ethnically based networks and with superior education and labour market outcomes. These migrants may be attracted to particular destinations for their high quality institutions and the value of their credentials in the country of origin, as well for the presence of other members of elite classes.

However, we expect such elite migrants to form a relatively small share of current student migration, which we expect to be dominated by those with more middling characteristics. Such middling transnationals will still be highly selected, with strong economic orientations. But they will be less likely to be pursuing high-ranking degrees, and are more likely to have experiential motivations tied to life in a world city. We further expect them to be linked to existing ethnically based networks for job or social support and be less 'cosmopolitan' in orientation, with stronger identification with their sending country and a larger social network from their country of origin.

These students may be utilizing student visas for diverse intentions incorporating work as well as study; a phenomenon increasingly documented in the qualitative literature (Ho, 2011; Rutten and Verstappen, 2013) as well as recent quantitative accounts (Findlay, 2011). Unlike the free moving transnationals, we expect these migrants to display greater variation in their mobility intentions, with many aiming to settle. Given their vulnerability to frequently changing migration laws (Robertson and Runganaikaloo, 2014; Ho, 2011), difficulties obtaining work commensurate with their training (Rutten and Verstappen, 2013), and their sense of inner conflict over the pull of ethnic ties and their desire for growth and

international experiences (Jones, 2013), we expect their satisfaction levels to be lower than for more elite migrants.

We expect that heterogeneity among student migrants, consisting of elite and middling types, will further structure their early socio-economic and socio-cultural integration patterns. In terms of socio-economic integration, we expect elite student migrants to obtain the class preserving/elevating credentials and language skills which have motivated their migration. If they do take up employment, we expect that their work will be of higher status, more commensurate with their training, and that they will be less likely to be employed in an ethnic economy than their middling counterparts.

In terms of their sociocultural integration, we expect middling students to become less oriented towards the receiving society than the student elites, who should benefit from a more cosmopolitan outlook and greater capacity for bicultural engagement (Jones, 2013; Hannerz, 1990). We expect this to be reflected in weaker identification with the receiving society and lower social contact with natives over time for middling migrants. Middling migrants are also more likely to be vulnerable to the vicissitudes of migration policies and insecure work, which would also be reflected in reduced life satisfaction over time.

PAKISTANIS AS CASE STUDY

We test these expectations focusing on Pakistanis migrating to London for education. New Pakistani students in London form an exemplary case study for four reasons. First, the UK is in the vanguard of the more general shifts both towards the internationalisation of higher education and towards managed migration. The trend in education can be seen in Figure 1, which illustrates increasing numbers of student migrants across developed countries; the UK, however, attracts foreign students at a much higher level. The UK is also distinguished by a single points-based migration system phased in during 2008, followed by a cap on skilled

workers of 20,700 in 2011, and continued income conditions and relationship restrictions on eligibility for family reunification over the past decade. The net result has been low current levels of family migration, alongside higher levels of skilled, and particularly student migration, as illustrated in Figure 2. From 2008 to 2012 students dominated other visa statuses, even those of skilled workers, which fell off after the cap, though they have since recovered somewhat.

But students have also faced a shifting landscape of visa application procedures and post-study opportunities, as their position has become more intensively scrutinized. Starting in 2007, in addition to needing entry clearance before travelling to the UK, the ability of those already in the UK to switch into the student category was restricted. Further changes took place from 2011, including requiring Highly Trusted Sponsor status for educational institutions, restricting the rights of students to work and bring dependants, and closing the Tier 1 Post Study work route. From April 2012 post-study visa routes were restricted to 'Graduate Entrepreneurs' showing exceptional innovation and entrepreneurial ability, or more recently, those completing a PhD. Thus, although students are allowed to migrate and are not subject to numerical caps and financial support requirements of other categories, many are caught in an 'education-migration' nexus where possibilities for work and longer term settlement are increasingly constrained.

[Figures 1 and 2 about here]

Second, students in the UK are likely to (apply to) stay. On the one hand, according to Home Office data, very few (around 15%) students stay (Home Office, 2013). However, these findings do not correspond to information from a new question in the International Passenger Survey, which suggests lower rates of departure (Blinder, 2014). Findlay (2011)

has shown that the tendency to stay – or at least to seek to stay – has shifted dramatically among students relative to other migrant types. While they were previously four times less likely to seek to extend their stay than other visa statuses, over the 2000s that shifted to being only half as likely (Findlay, 2011: 172).

Third, these general UK trends are particularly evident among those from South Asian countries that have longstanding migration relationships with the UK, dating back to peak periods of labour migration in the 1950s and 1960s. While stocks of foreign-born Pakistanis are dominated by both the original labour migrants and those subsequently arriving through family re-unification (Cooper et al., 2014), spouses and children joining British citizens currently comprise only about 1 in 10 *new* Pakistani immigrants, while students migrating for study compromise over half of all recent visas among those from Pakistan (see Figure 3). International students from Pakistan have shown a dramatic rise over the last decade, with moves to the UK largely echoing the general trend, as illustrated in Figure 4. Hence, Pakistanis both reflect global trends towards internationalisation of education, likely to result in a wider, less elite pool of students migrating for education from Pakistan, and also demonstrate responses to the changing visa regime in the UK, which have increased selectivity in overall flows. Moreover, the trends in the tendency to stay following study are also particularly marked for Pakistanis, among whom over a third remain in the UK five years after coming for study (Home Office, 2014: : Table MJ04).

[Figure 3 and Figure 4 about here]

Finally, London represents a world city of the type exemplified in analysis of 'middling' migration (Conradson and Latham, 2005a). The salience of place and the particular, albeit complex attractions of large cities, which combine international networks of

communication and commerce with high levels of inequality (Sassen, 2001), form a key context for understanding the behaviours, interactions and integration trajectories of educated, third country nationals. Moreover, London is particularly dense in higher education institutions, both elite and of more variable quality, and the home to 26 per cent of all Pakistani origin students in the UK. It exemplifies both the possibilities for credentials provided by study at one of the city's internationally reputed institutions, the massification of the sector internally and externally and the development of institutions specifically aiming to exploit increases in international study (Singh et al., 2007).

DATA AND MEASURES

Data

We draw on data from a unique dataset produced in the international survey project on *Socio-cultural Integration Processes among New Immigrants in Europe* (SCIP) (see further Diehl et al 2016). The SCIP project is a two-wave cross-national panel study of migrants from selected national origins, who were first surveyed in 2010/11. Recent migrants aged between 18 and 60 were interviewed within 1.5 years of arrival and as many as possible were re-interviewed again another 1.5 years later. Turks, Pakistanis, Moroccans, Antilleans, and Surinamese represented the classical labor/colonial migration to Western Europe in German, UK and the Netherlands respectively (for a detailed description of the methodology of the project see Gresser et al 2015).

[Table 1 about here]

As can be seen in table 1, students represent a significant proportion of most of the recently arrived third country migrant groups in the SCIP sample. However, as is common even within migration specific surveys, the numbers of student migrants within each origin-

destination group are generally insufficient to further explore internal differentiation within the group. An unanticipated advantage of the UK sampling strategy, however, was that we were able to collect the only large single nationality panel of foreign-born students in the UK. The timing of our fieldwork, and our focus on London, facilitated us achieving a student-dominated, but still largely representative sample of recent Pakistani students (Platt et al., 2015). This enables us to explore heterogeneity within student migration with national origin controlled, as well as to measure the impact of this heterogeneity on early integration outcomes.

The UK SCIP sample included 751 Pakistani foreign born living in London, self-defined as migrants (i.e. not visitors). The sample was collected using a range of techniques (Platt et al., 2015), including chain referral methods adapted from Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) (Heckathorn, 1997). Thanks to the surge of student migration during our sampling period (see figure 2 above), and the strong concentration of universities and colleges in London, we captured 576 recently arrived Pakistani immigrants on student visas (of 586 reporting education as a reason for migration).

Our student-focused sample largely reflects the composition of new Pakistani migrants in London as a whole. Table 2 shows key characteristics of those (younger) migrants who arrived in London within the two years preceding the 2011 Census i.e. closely commensurate with the timing and duration of stay of our sample. It compares them with our SCIP sample, though it is worth noting that our sample is likely to be more transient. We see that, according to the Census, 75 per cent of recent male migrants who had arrived in London within the previous two years were students (compared to 83 per cent of men in our sample); and that 88 per cent of students were men – a proportion very close to the 87 per cent in our

sample. Given that only 13 per cent of students were women, we restrict our analysis to men (N=501).

[Table 2 about here]

For the first part of our analysis we identify latent classes in our male student migrant sample (N=501). For subsequent analyses of change between the two waves and of wave 2 outcomes, we restrict our sample to include only those respondents present in both waves (N=252).[1] Since we do not have a strict probability sample, measures of statistical significance should be treated with some caution.

Measures

We first outline the measures used to identify migrant types. We selected these measures on the basis that they should distinguish elite from middling types. We then describe the measures used to evaluate differences in their early socio-cultural integration. Descriptive statistics of all measures can be found in Table 3.

A. Typifying Student Migrants

To classify latent student classes, we first include measures commonly used in human capital models, such as age, current educational attainment (less than a BA equivalent, a BA, and more than a BA equivalent), and current English language fluency, both in terms of speaking and understanding as well as writing and reading. We expect the elite to be composed of younger, more highly educated Pakistanis with stronger English language ability.

To further identify elite status students, we include the number of years of English language instruction in school, whether they grew up in an urban area, and whether they have a third language (in addition to English and their mother tongue). Although our entire sample

reports a student visa, we further distinguish those who are not enrolled in any education (11 per cent) and those who are not enrolled at university but at some other tertiary education provider (52 per cent).

As reviewed above, elite status embodies not only high human capital but also high cultural capital and cosmopolitan orientation. Thus we further include measures of reading British and Pakistani newspapers (in print or online), the importance of Pakistan and Britain to the respondent's identity, and current life satisfaction. We expect elite migrants to be more engaged in current events through newspaper consumption, to have weaker attachment to both Pakistani and British national identities, and to be more satisfied with their lives.

In contrast to traditional network-driven migration, we expect student elites to be less socially embedded with co-ethnics and more socially embedded with majority British. We therefore include measures of knowing someone prior to migration, the number of Pakistani associates in London, the reported time spent with those of UK and Pakistani origin, and the estimated proportion of Pakistanis in the local area.

Finally, elite students are expected to use international study as a stepping stone to cosmopolitan careers and to serve in upper management roles. Hence, we include migration intentions as a final measure to classify student types: intending to settle permanently in the UK, intending to move between the UK and Pakistan, intending to return to Pakistan, intending to move on to a third country, and finally reporting 'don't know' about future intentions. We expect more elite migrants to be more likely to want to return home or move to a third country, whereas more middling migrants are more likely to use international education as a path to residency in the UK. Those who report 'don't know' may be more elite, reflecting a rejection among the elite of life planning (Brooks and Everett, 2008).

B. Measuring Integration Trajectories and wave 2 achievements

In order to explore early integration trajectories and acheivements of the LCA types, we first examine change in language fluency between the first and second wave. In general, the Pakistani students in our sample experience no change in reported speaking or understanding English, but a marked decline in their estimation of their writing and reading ability (see table 1). This is likely to be the result of increased awareness of their English writing and reading capabilities as compared to other immigrants in London as well as native English speakers. We expect, however, that elite students will be less likely to experience any decline in their self-perception of English ability and more likely to report gains, as they should have greater contact with native English speakers and be more consciously investing in human capital acquisition during their time in London.

We next examine trajectories of social and subjective integration. On average, Pakistani students increase the time spent with both Pakistanis and British people during first years in the UK, as shown in table 1. The increase is more pronounced in terms of time spent with British people. We would expect the more cosmpolitan and less network driven elite student to have both a higher starting point in social integration with British natives as well as a steeper trajectory in their social integration. Similarly, while on average Pakistani students increase their reported life satisfaction from the first to the second wave, we expect middling migrants to face greater challenges and hence a more weakly positive, or even negative, trend in satisfaction across time.

The final changes observed are the importance of Britain and Pakistan to respondent identity. Although we would not expect much, if any change in Pakistani affiliation over only 18 months, and indeed we see no change on average, we might expect elite migrants to be less quick to adopt a UK identity, given the overall lower levels of national identification among elites and the fact that more disadvantaged groups are more likely to adopt receiving country identities (Nandi and Platt, forthcoming; Manning and Roy, 2010).

We also include measures of achievement in the early integration period, expecting elite migrants to be more likely to obtain a postgraduate degree from a UK institution and to obtain a higher status job, measured by ISEI occupational status (Ganzeboom and Treiman, 1996). We also expect elite migrants to be less reliant on and hence embedded in the ethnic economy. We measure ethnic economy participation as a continuous measure of the percentage of all Pakistani men working within that occupation in the UK, derived from pooled Labour Force Survey data from the period (2007-2010) just before the SCIP data collection. Despite their high education levels, Pakistani students employed in wave 2 work in occupations where, on average, four per cent of all Pakistani men are currently employed, in contrast to a concentration of one per cent in the general male population.

All wave 2 change and outcome models focus on the association between the latent classes and each outcome, controlling for wave 2 interview mode (web, telephone or in person), age, months since arrival, and marital status.

[Table 3 about here]

METHODS

We anticipate meaningful, underlying student types within our data, differentiated not only in terms of socioeconomic background but also in cultural and social orientations and characteristics. Given the large range of theoretically informed indicators of these student migrant types, we choose to utilize latent class analysis (LCA), a data reduction technique that (in contrast to cluster or factor analysis) classifies latent classes among observations (rather than variables) using categorical, ordinal and continuous variables. This method enables us, first, to assess our central premise of the existence of defined middling and elite classes within the student population. Second, LCA effectively reduces data to a small

number of categories while taking into account indicating characteristics and their importance. In contrast to standard ordinary least squares (OLS) regression, which assumes a single model with homogeneous effects of different indicators across the student population, we can use these classes to test for different trajectories across the identified student subgroups.

We estimate two kinds of latent class analysis model parameters: the class probability parameters and the item parameters (Nylund et al., 2007). The latent class probability is the likelihood that a migrant belongs to a specific class. It is used to determine the number and relative size of classes within Pakistani student migrants. The item parameters correspond to conditional item probabilities and provide information on the probability for an individual in that class to score positively on that item. These are comparable to a factor loading in factor analysis in that values closer to 1.0 indicate that that characteristic better defines the class (Nieri et al., 2011).

We estimate mixture models in Mplus 7.0 (Muthén and Muthén, 2013), using the rich demographic and socio-cultural information described above.[2] We expected to identify only two latent classes, an elite and a middling class. However, the item parameters for a classification with both 2 and 3 classes revealed heterogeneity within the 'middling' subgroup, and 3 classes were preferred over 2, using a variety of fit indicators (Nylund et al., 2007): Bayesian information criterion (BIC), the Lo-Mendell Rubin adjusted likelihood ratio test (LMR) and the parametric bootstrapped likelihood ratio test (PBLR). We therefore determined on three classes. Given that the entropy level for our preferred model is very high (0.981) we then assign each observation the most likely class membership (Clark and Muthén, 2009).[3]

For our second goal, we use the assigned class membership from wave 1 as our key independent variable to predict various measures of socio-cultural and structural trajectories

and outcomes in wave 2. For these analyses, only the balanced panel is used. Six of our outcomes are measured as change since wave 1: time spent with Pakistanis, time spent with British people, importance of UK and Pakistan for identity, life satisfaction, and English language ability. As noted by Allison (1990), change measures can have particular advantages when comparing group outcomes over two different time points. These change scores are modeled using OLS, and we include the lagged indicator of each outcome (the variable measured in the first wave) to absorb differences in starting points across the three classes, and hence account for potential ceiling and floor effects. While these lagged variables contributed to our latent class analysis, there is sufficient variation across respondents withn the groups to warrant their inclusion.

We are also interested in three outcomes newly measured at wave 2 (rather than change): one binary outcome, obtaining a UK degree or postgraduate degree , modeled using logistic regression; and two continuous outcomes, occupational status and ethnic concentration of the main occupation, modeled using OLS.

RESULTS

Middling and Elite Types

LCA revealed three classes of Pakistani student migrant. Their characteristics are illustrated in table 4, below. The smallest group, at 16 per cent of our sample, consistently demonstrates those characteristics we would associate with the theoretical formulation of a student 'elite'. Alongside this group, two, rather than the posited one, 'middling' groups comprise the remainder of the sample. The 'networked middling' group (34%) illustrates the features that we would expect from our development of the concept of a less selected migration, initiated strongly through ethnic ties rather than motivated by class maintenance. The somewhat larger 'middle class middling' group (50%) displays modal characteristics of the entire

sample as whole. It shares many of the features of the 'lower middling' group, to which it is closer than the advantaged elite, but it appears somewhat more positively selected socioeconomically yet much less socially embedded. With its urban origins, more uncertain future intentions and lack of networks, this group could be seen as representing a 'new middle class' from a lower income country context where the urban middle class is expanding swiftly.

In terms of age, all three classes are young, with approximately the same average age (24 to 26). All also have a majority with at least the equivalent of a bachelor's degree. From there, however, their profiles differ. Specifically, elites have a much higher probability at 20 per cent of holding a post-graduate degree than the other two groups. Elite students are also strongly differentiated by their superior English language ability, and have by far the highest probability of being enrolled in a University (as opposed to some other form of higher education). The elite student group displays stronger cosmopolitanism, more likely to report that the UK is important to their identity, and more likely to consume UK news. This group also reports higher life satisfaction than the other two student groups. They are also the most socially integrated, spending on average time with UK natives at least several times per week. Finally, the elite migrant type is the least likely to intend to stay in the UK, and the most likely to embody the 'free movement of professionals', with over twice the probability of the other two groups of planning to move to a third country after their stay in the UK. This elite latent class thus displays characteristics that closely align with our expectations.

The networked middling class display the strongest signs of traditional network migration and report the highest intention to settle in the UK. This group is most strongly sorted on their low probability of university enrolment, instead utilizing a student visa to attend more basic training programmes. This group also has the highest probability (40%) of having less than a bachelor degree. The networked middling differ from both the middle class

middling and the elite in that they are more likely to stem from non-urban backgrounds, and are less likely to consume newspapers in either the sending or receiving country. They are also more orientated towards the home country, with the strongest sense of Pakistani identity combined with the weakest UK identity. This is mirrored in their social engagement as well: these student migrants spend time with Pakistanis every day, and have much larger social networks of Pakistanis in London than the other two groups. Despite their lack of engagement with the UK, they are also the most likely to want to settle permanently.

Finally, the third group identified by the LCA we have called 'middle class middling'. This group has a very high probability (78%) of the modal education level (BA), with only a 10 per cent probability of having more and 12 per cent probability of having less education than this. The middle class middling group, in contrast to the other two, reports on average close to zero years of formal English training in school. Alongside very low reports of third language ability, this is the characteristic that most strongly defines the group. Our middle class middling group is further defined by their lack of social ties in the UK, in contrast to the other two groups. They report smaller Pakistani social networks, and spend less time with both Pakistanis and with majority British. Unlike the other two types, they have a virtually zero probability of employment. Indeed they seem to be less integrated in both Pakistani and UK life in London. This may also be understood from their 'middle class' standing, as they are less likely to rely on social networks than the other middling group, but also less likely to know other Pakistani elites already residing in London.

[Table 4 about here]

Thus, the latent class analysis reveals considerable heterogeneity within student migrant streams, even when restricting to a single sending country, destination city, and cohort. Most

importantly, elite migrants comprise only one in eight of these migrants. Next, we examine the consequences for the early integration patterns of Pakistani migrants in London.

Migrant Types and Early Integration

Tables 5 and 6 summarize our analysis of early integration patterns. The top panels display the marginal effects of membership in each class at wave 1 on wave 2 outcomes and change across time. The mean wave 2 outcomes and change between waves for the sample as a whole are also presented for comparison. Tests for the statistical significance (at the 0.1 level) of contrasts between the classes are found in the bottom panels of both tables.

Starting with the structural integration measures in table 4, we see important differences between the two groups in both change and in their wave 2 attainment. In terms of language acquisition, Pakistanis experienced very little change in their English speaking and understanding ability between the first two waves, as their reported fluency in the first wave was already fairly high. Although, in line with our expectations, elite migrants report slightly greater improvement, this difference is not statistically significant. The group as a whole experienced a large *decline* in their self-reports of English reading and writing proficiency between the two waves: on average, the Pakistani students went from reporting that they read and write English 'well' to 'not well'; but the middle class middling experienced the steepest decline in self-reported reading and writing ability. This is likely linked to their lack of embeddedness, affording fewer possibilities to improve their language skills.

We also see important differences across the student classes in their wave 2 structural outcomes. In line with our characterisation of them as different in kind as well as degree, the elite migrants differentiate themselves from the two middling classes in terms of their greater likelihood to obtain UK degrees and postgraduate degrees, likely due to the fact that they

were more likely to be enrolled in university programs, rather than other types of tertiary education. When they were employed, they reported jobs with much higher occupational status. They also show signs of employment in less ethnically concentrated occupations, working in an occupation where on average only three per cent of Pakistani men are employed, by contrast with nearly 4.5 per cent among the middling groups. This difference is, however, not statistically significant.

The differences between the middle class and networked middling types are less consistent. The middle class middling generally occupies a middle position between the elite and networked middling, displaying a higher probability of obtaining a UK degree and slightly lower probability of employment than the networked group. These differences between the two middling types are smaller than the contrasts with the elites, however, and less often statistically significant.

[Table 5 about here]

Clearly the variation in student type in the first wave has important implications for early structural integration. Because our latent class analysis also sorted the three types in terms of cosmopolitanism and social integration, we expected to see associations between the types and *changes* in socio-cultural outcomes as well. However, this turned out not to be the case.

Table 6 presents marginal effects and contrasts for the three groups across changes in socio-cultural outcomes, including social engagement and identification. On average, Pakistani students show strong signs of social integration in this early period: they strongly increase their social engagement with British people (changing from spending time with British people a few times a month to several times a week), increase their identification with Britain, and become more satisfied with their lives in the UK. As is clear from the lower

panels of the table, however, the early socio-cultural integration trajectories do not differ significantly across classes, with the exception that the middle class middling class spends less time with Pakistanis between the waves, whereas the networked middling and elite classes spend more time. These divergent trajectories may reflect again the different pre-migration circumstances, with the networked middling class and elites more likely to have larger Pakistani networks and greater contact on arrival, providing a base from which to integrate into London's Pakistani community. In contrast, the middle class middling arrived with lower levels of Pakistani contact and their contact remains low in the second wave.

[Table 6 about here]

CONCLUSIONS

With the expansion of higher education on the one hand and changing visa regimes on the other, third country migration flows are increasingly comprised of student migrants. Yet there has been remarkably little attempt to understand or conceptualize this migration stream. While international students have traditionally either been neglected in migration research or conceptualized as temporary, transnational cosmopolitan elite, we pointed to a number of reasons why they could better be conceived in terms of 'middling migration'. We tested the expectations relating to middling and elite migration flows and, using the specific case study of Pakistani students migrating to London, we were able to identify among our sample of migrants for education a small elite group and two more middling groups. While the elite and 'networked middling' student groups mapped closely onto our expectations from the literature, with the latter more likely to align with purported 'substitution effects' (De Haas 2011), the 'middle class middling' group showed both some intermediate features and some characteristics that may be linked more specifically to the internationalisation of student

flows from lower income countries with an expanding middle class. It may also be that the specific nature of London as a world city, with both high status institutions and a proliferation of less well-regarded tertiary institutions, fosters particular patterns of both supply and demand that help create this distinction. This cleavage within the 'middling' student population therefore merits further empirical attention through comparative work with other source countries.

We were also able to show how these different classes of student migration were associated with somewhat different structural integration trajectories, with the elite group having better outcomes across the education and occupational measures. Interestingly, we found far fewer differences in relation to social-cultural or subjective integration.

While drawing on a unique large, longitudinal study of recent students representing new migrant flows in the context of managed migration and the expansion of tertiary education, our analysis does face certain limitations. First, our sample was quite specific: while Pakistani migration to London offers a valuable case study, we are not able to ascertain if the patterns we identified are representative of all third country students across the UK. And certainly further research is needed to establish if they capture changes taking place across other European destinations. Second, as is typical of studies of mobile and recently arrived populations, our sample suffered from high rates of attrition between waves. Hence our analysis of change over time may be subject to attrition bias. Third, we would have benefited from extended measures of pre-migration socio-economic context to confirm or enhance our representation of the student types.

Despite these limitations, the analysis has advanced our understanding of contemporary South-North migration in a number of ways. Our paper is the first to develop a conceptual framework for, and empirical analysis of, the new third-country student migration as a 'middling' migration, and the implications of that conceptualisation for students'

outcomes. It demonstrates the need to pay greater attention to the complexity and diversity of student migration under changing conditions and offers a framework within which to do this. While the UK is at present a special case in terms of the extent to which managed migration and internationalisation of higher education have combined to produce a diverse and complex student body, other countries are showing similar trends (Bijwaard and Wang, 2013). Moreover, the fact that these student flows are emanating from countries with longstanding historical links to the country of destination, suggests that we need to pay greater attention to how we conceive of inter-country links, with meso and macro as well as interpersonal structuring of flows (Fawcett, 1989). While the patterns and practices on settlement of the networked middling group points to the salience of ethnic embeddedness for foreign students, this group remains a minority among Pakistani students overall. We also need to recognize how student migration flows may impact our understanding of the future trajectories of immigrant groups typically understood in the framework of earlier labour migration and family re-unification.

Notes

[1] Where respondents are missing data on a particular outcome variable, the sample size may be correspondingly smaller, but the maximum number of missing observations is never higher than 5 per cent of the total balanced sample. Patterns of attrition can be seen in table 2, and there is some signs of selective attrition. As we would expect, respondents who anticipated returning home in wave 1 were more likely to be lost to follow up; with the opposite being the case for those who expected to stay. Pakistanis more embedded in a larger Pakistani network, and who knew someone prior to migration, were also more likely to be retained in the sample. Finally, there is some evidence of negative selection into attrition,

with those with more years of formal English instruction, and who consume British newspapers, being more likely to be surveyed in wave 2.

[2] To ensure robustness and replicability of our results, for each potential number of classes, we ensure that the final stage log likelihood values stay consistent with at least 100 random starts. Once replication of optimal log likelihood is reached, we further replicate the analysis with double the starts to ensure that the same likelihood is reached and replicated.

[3] We also used the three step method to test for equality in distal outcomes across latent class indicators, as suggested by Asparouhov T and Muthén B. (2014) Auxiliary Variables in Mixture Modeling: Three-Step Approaches Using M plus. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal* 21: 329-341. However we find only small differences (generally at the second decimal level) between this approach and the simpler class-assignment method employed in this paper.

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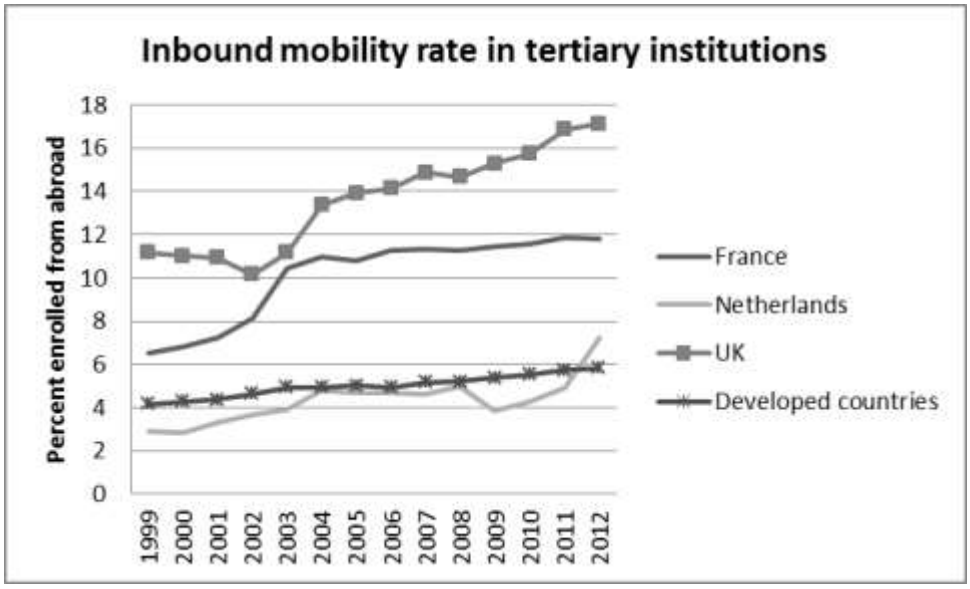
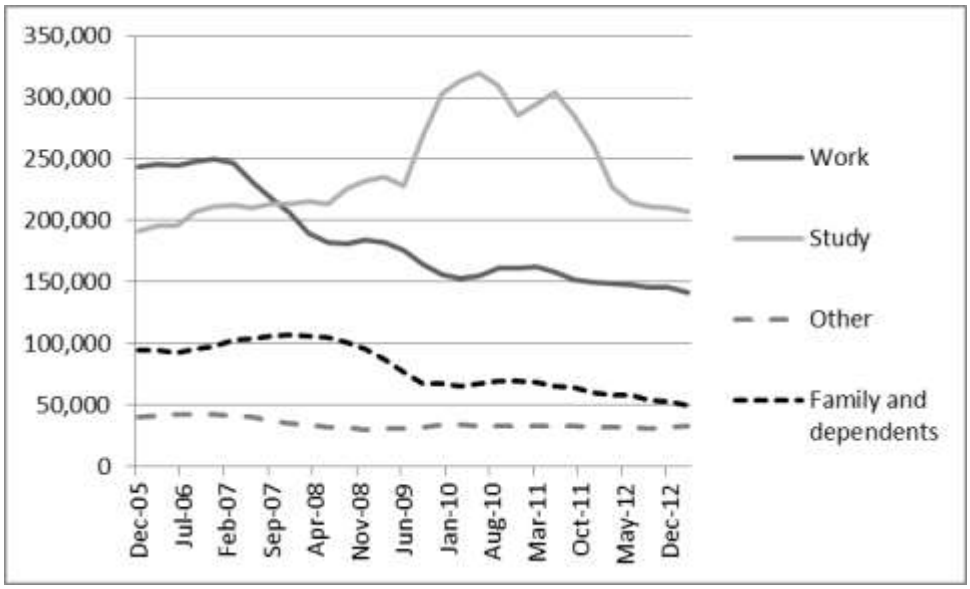
Elite or Middling?: Figures and Tables

Figure 1: Tertiary student migration 1999-2012



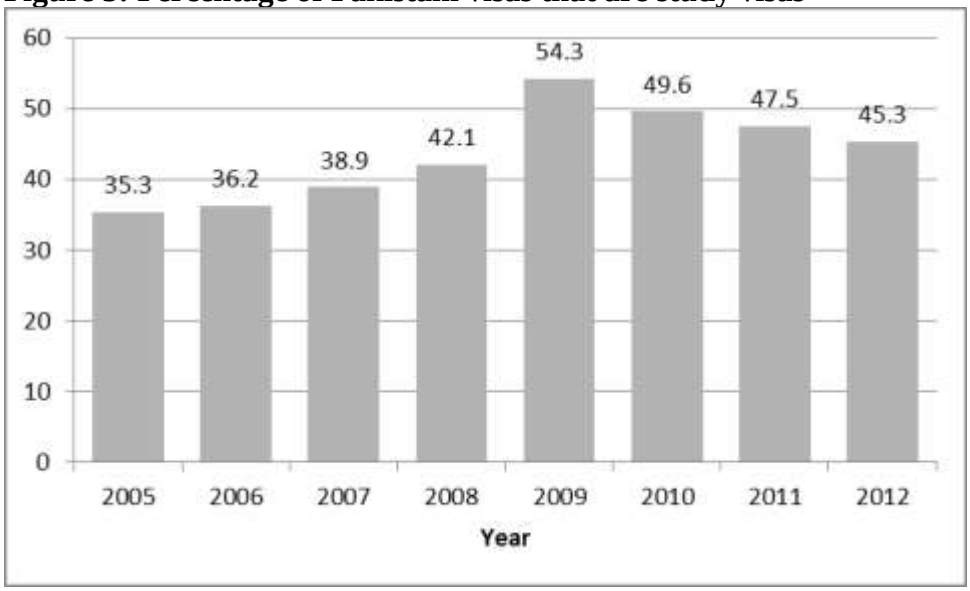
Source: UNESCO; data extracted on 14 Dec 2014 08:47 UTC (GMT) from UIS/ISU http://data.uis.unesco.org/#

Figure 2. Entry Visas Issued by Reason 2005-2012



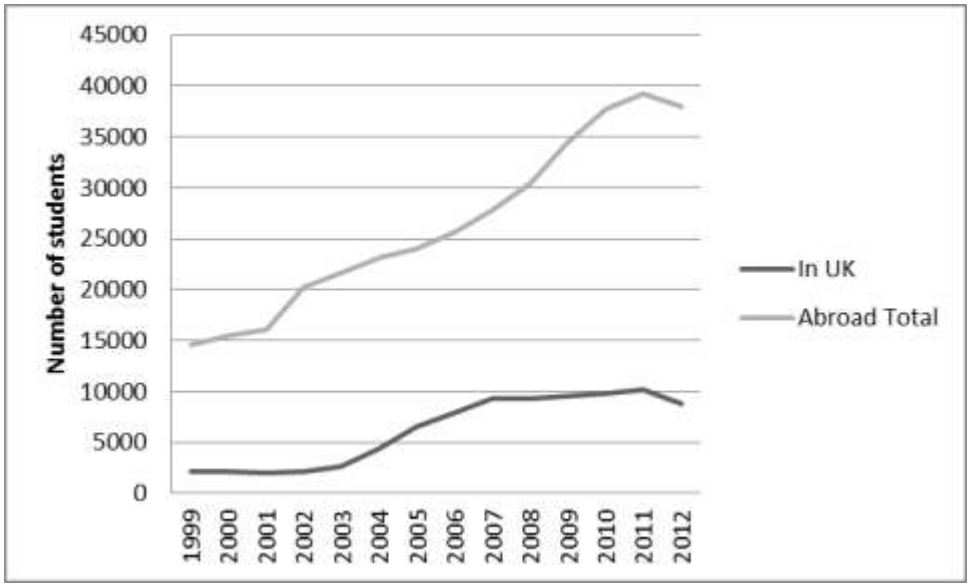
Source: ONS Migration Statistics / Home Office data on Visas issued. Excludes student visitors (short term students for language courses).

Figure 3: Percentage of Pakistani visas that are study visas



Notes: Source: ONS Quarterly Report 2013: Averaged quarterly percent non-visitor / transit visas issued for study

Figure 4: Pakistani students abroad in higher education



Notes: UNESCO UIS Database, accessed 10/11/2014 http://data.uis.unesco.org/#

Table 1. Percent and number of third country migrants in SCIP reporting education as motivation for migration		
	%	N
Antilleans (NL)	0.56	210
Moroccans (NL)	0.03	14
Surinamese (NL)	0.27	101
Turks (NL)	0.15	121
Turks (DE)	0.24	279
Pakistanis (UK)	0.78	586

Table 2: Composition of recently arrived young Pakistanis in London, Census and SCIP data compared

	Census 2011[a]	SCIP 2011[b]
% students	60	77
% men	70	80
% men who are students	75	83
% students who are men	88	87
% male students with BA or more	52	76
N	11,208	751

Source: [a] ONS England and Wales 2011 Census. Derived by authors from Table CT0375; the sample is defined as all those of Pakistani ethnicity, arrived in UK within the last 2 years, aged 35 or less, living in London. Students defined by current activity. SCIP UK Pakistani sample: Pakistani nationals, living in London, arrived in UK within the last 18 months. Students defined by visa status.

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics, Pakistani Male Students in London								
	Wave 1 Only (N=501)					Balanced Sample (N=252)		
	Mean	SD	Min	Max		Mean	SD	Min	Max
Wave 1 Demographics and Pre-Migration Characteristics									
Age	25.09	4.09	18	44		25.29	4.305	18	44
Less than BA	.24		0	1		.22		0	1
BA	.62		0	1		.62		0	1
More than BA	.14		0	1		.16		0	1
Years English in School	7.14	6.80	0	17		8.44	6.747	0	17
Enrolled in University	.48		0	1		.44		0	1
Enrolled in Education	.89		0	1		.91		0	1
Grew up in Urban Area	.89		0	1		.88		0	1
Other Language Ability	.34		0	1		.39		0	1
Wave 1 Language and Engagment									
Speak / Understand English	3.14	.73	1	4		3.12	.717	1.5	4
Write / Read English	3.06	.64	1	4		3.08	.544	2	4
Reads British newspapers at least several x week	.38		0	1		.42		0	1
Reads Pakistani newspapers at least several x week	.39		0	1		.42		0	1
Pakistan important to ID	3.68	.68	1	4		3.74	.619	1	4
UK important to ID	3.08	.92	1	4		3.08	.886	1	4
Satisfaction with life currently	3.45	.75	1	5		3.51	.718	1	5
Wave 1 Social Integration									
Knew Someone Prior to	.25		0	1		.29		0	1
Number of Pakistanis know in London	18.21	27.93	0	100		23.28	29.59	0	100
Time spent with UK natives	4.09	1.24	1	6		4.22	1.23	1	6
Time spent with Pakistanis	4.80	1.36	1	6		5.01	1.28	1	6
Proportion of Pakistanis in local	3.31	.91	1	5		3.15	.92	1	5
Wave 1 Migration Intentions									
Stay in UK	.38		0	1		.42		0	1
Move between	.09		0	1		.09		0	1
Return	.33		0	1		.29		0	1
Third Country	.08		0	1		.08		0	1
Don't know	.12		0	1		.12		0	1
Low skill job T1	.12		0	1		.19		0	1
Wave 2 Mode									
Web Interview (CAWI)						.03		0	1
Telephone Interview (CATI)						.51		0	1
In Person Interview (CAPI)						.46		0	1
Trajectories and Early Integration Outcomes									
Change in Time Spent with Pakistanis						.34	1.57	-4	5
Change in Time Spent with UK Natives						.91	1.61	-4	5
Change in UK Identity						.31	1.15	-3	3
Change in Pakistani identity						.01	.78	-3	3
Change in satisfaction						.37	1.03	-3	3
Obtained UK Degree						.74		0	1
Obtained UK Postgrad Degree						.46		0	1
Wave 2 Occupational Status (among W2 Employed N=125)						35.95	16.14	15.35	75.13
Wave 2 % PK employees in occupation (among W2 Employed N=125)						.04	.04	0	0.19
Change in English Speaking/Understanding						.03	.80	-2	2
Change in English Writing/Reading						-.68	.69	-3	1

Table 4. Characteristics of Pakistani Student Types from Latent Class Analysis (Wave 1 N=501)				
	Middle Class Middling	Networked Middling	Elite	Total Sample
Proportion in Sample	.50	.34	.16	100
N Wave 1	251	169	81	501
N Wave 2	105	105	42	252
Demographics/Premigration Characteristics				
Age	24.64	25.18	26.26	25.09
Less than BA	.12	.40	.25	.24
BA	.78	.43	.56	.62
More than BA	.10	.17	.20	.14
Years English in School	.16	13.22	13.83	7.14
Enrolled in University	.57	.14	.90	.48
Enrolled in Education	.80	.97	1.00	.89
Grew up in Urban Area	.98	.75	.91	.89
Have other Language Ability	.04	.60	.73	.34
Language and Engagment				
Speak and Understand English	3.09	2.79	3.99	3.14
Write and Read English	2.91	2.88	3.90	3.06
Reads British newspapers at least	.34	.30	.65	.38
Reads Pakistani newspapers at least	.45	.28	.43	.39
Pakistan important to ID	3.53	3.90	3.70	3.68
UK important to ID	3.23	2.67	3.48	3.08
Satisfaction with life currently	3.40	3.38	3.77	3.45
Social Integration				
Knew Someone Prior to Migration	.02	.47	.48	.25
Number of Pakistanis know in London	6.44	40.46	8.25	18.21
Time spent with UK natives	3.68	4.21	5.07	4.09
Time spent with Pakistanis	3.84	5.78	5.63	4.80
Proportion of Pakistanis in local	3.58	2.96	3.16	3.31
Migration Intentions				
Stay in UK	.38	.43	.28	.38
Move between	.10	.05	.19	.09
Return	.31	.36	.31	.33
Third Country	.06	.08	.14	.08
Don't know	.15	.09	.09	.12
Low skill job T1	.02	.24	.20	.12

Table 5. Differences in Structural Integration Trajectories by Class Type

	Change in Outcome from Wave 1 to Wave 2			Probability / Expected Value at Wave 2		
	Speaking / Understand English	Read / Write English	Obtained UK Degree	Obtained UK Postgraduate Degree	% PK employees in occupation (employed only)	ISEI Score of Wave 2 (employed only)
Total Population	.03	-.68	.74	.46	4.14	35.95
Middle Class Middling	.01	-.80	.75	.40	4.40	35.50
Networked Middling	.01	-.61	.68	.46	4.43	33.12
Elite	.10	-.53	.87	.60	3.03	42.21
Contrasts						
Networked Middling v. Elite			x			x
Networked Middling v. Middle Class Middling		x				
Middle Class Middling v. Elite		x		x		x
N	252	252	248	248	125	125

Table 6. Differences in Socio-Cultural Integration Trajectories by Class Type						
	Change in Outcome from Wave 1 to Wave 2					
	Time Spent with Pakistanis	Time Spent with British		British Identity	Pakistani Identity	Satisfaction with life in Britain
Total Population	.34	.91		.31	.01	.37
Middle Class Middling	-.14	.88		.34	.08	.41
Networked Middling	.66	.94		.27	-.03	.34
Elite	.66	.91		.36	-.08	.34
Contrasts						
Networked Middling v. Elite						
Networked Middling v. Middle Class Middling	x					
Middle Class Middling v. Elite	x					
N	241	242		252	251	249

Annex Tables

A1. Full Regression Results: Structural Outcomes										
	Speak/Understand		Read/Write		ISEI Wave 2		Obtained UK Degree		Obtained Post-grad Degree	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Migrant Class (Middle Class Middling Omitted)										
Networked Middlin	.00	.08	.19	.07	-2.38	3.62	-.34	.34	.31	.34
Elite	.09	.11	.27	.11	6.71	3.97	.83	.57	1.01	.45
Lagged DV	-.87	.06	-.97	.07	n/a		n/a		n/a	
Mode Type (CAWI omitted)										
CATI	-.40	.19	.04	.17	7.78	9.36	1.12	.87	1.37	.90
CAPI	-.60	.20	-.49	.17	.96	9.73	.25	.87	-.19	.91
Age	.01	.01	.02	.01	.16	.44	.07	.04	.21	.05	
Months since arriva	.01	.01	.00	.01	-.13	.28	.02	.03	.02	.03
Married	.03	.15	-.10	.14	11.77	6.52	-1.63	.66	-1.97	.69
Constant	2.79	.35	1.96	.35	29.08	13.70	-1.93	1.46	-6.71	1.54
Model	Change: OLS		Change: OLS		OLS		Logistic		Logistic	
R2	.59		.56		.12					
N	252		252		125		248		248	

Samples include the balanced panel sample of all male Pakistani students with full information on all variables

A2. Full Regression Results: Socio-Cultural Outcomes										
	Time with PK		Time with Brits		British Identity		Pakistani Identity		Satisfaction	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Migrant Class (Middle Class Middling Omitted)										
Networked Middling	.81	.25	.06	.16	-.07	.10	-.11	.09	-.07	.12
Elite	.81	.28	.03	.21	.03	.13	-.16	.11	-.07	.16
Lagged DV	1.03	.09	.98	.06	-1.05	.05	-.82	.06	-.81	.07
Mode Type (CAWI omitted)										
CATI	.75	.43	.47	.38	-.11	.25	.37	.23	.28	.30
CAPI	.43	.44	-.44	.39	-.02	.26	.17	.23	-.06	.31
Age	.01	.02	.02	.02	-.01	.01	-.01	.01	.02	.01
Months since arrival	.00	.01	-.01	.01	-.01	.01	.00	.01	-.03	.01
Married	.15	.36	-.09	.30	.30	.20	.02	.17	-.11	.24
Constant	-2.99	.77	-2.10	.68	3.99	.45	3.11	.41	3.21	.55
Model	Change: OLS		Change: OLS		Change: OLS		Change: OLS		Change: OLS	
R2	.47		.60		.66		.47		.39	
N	241		242		252		251		249	

Samples include the balanced panel sample of all male Pakistani students with full information on all variables